

THE GOD HEKA IN EGYPTIAN THEOLOGY ¹⁾

The god Eldest Magician (*ḥkꜣ sꜣmsw*) is mentioned together with the goddess Isis, who has such a reputation for magic ²⁾, in the texts and illustrations belonging to the seventh hour of the book *Amduat* ³⁾. In the text of this hour, which follows upon midnight, we read that they both recite spells or perform magical rites to protect the sun-god Re from Apopis, the monster of chaos. It is one of the most critical moments of the journey through the netherworld:

This great god sails on in this place along the way of the cave of Osiris, through being lifted up (variant: drawn) by the magic of Isis and the Eldest Magician in order to divert the way from the nhꜣ-hꜣr (i.e. Apopis) ⁴⁾.

The boat has to be lifted up because Apopis threatens to swallow up the waterway. Before telling us that the minor gods "He-who-causes-the-throat-to-breathe" and "He-with-his-knives" bind Apopis after Isis and the Eldest Magician have robbed him of his power, the text interjects a theological remark of a practical kind:

This magic of Isis and the Eldest Magician is performed in the west, in the hidden region of the netherworld, to ward off Apopis from Re. It can also be done upon earth. He who does it is an occupant of the solar barque in heaven and upon earth. It is a trifle to learn this design. But he who does not know it cannot ward off the nhꜣ-hꜣr ⁵⁾.

This text implies that salvation consists in being in the immediate neighbourhood of the sun-god, being an occupant of the solar barque, which is sometimes called "ship of millions (of blessed spirits of the dead)". According to this quotation it would seem, that not only after death but also during life upon earth one may enter upon salvation and be one of the crew of the solar barque. The means of attaining this condition of salvation are not e.g. faith or good

¹⁾ The author wishes to express his thanks to Mrs. G. E. van BAAREN-PAPE, who has translated this article into English. A grant of the Netherlands organisation for the advancement of pure research (Z.W.O.) and of the State University at Groningen has enabled him to collect religio-historical material in Egypt from January till March 1968. Especially he has profited from the help of those who were in the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo and the Chicago House in Luxor during that time.

²⁾ M. MÜNSTER, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Berlin 1968, p. 192-197.

³⁾ E. HORNING, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, Wiesbaden 1963, I, p. 117 ff.; II, p. 125 ff. [PL. XXVII, B].

⁴⁾ O.c. I, p. 122 f.

⁵⁾ O.c. I, p. 123.

works, as accentuated by certain forms of Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism, but knowledge. That which is required is knowledge of the terrible confrontation with the *nh3-hr* (literally: "face of terror") ⁶⁾ and of the magic (*hk3*) with which one may conquer this face of terror.

What it consists of, this magic of Isis and the Eldest Magician which may also be performed by man upon earth, is not elaborated. The reason will hardly be that magic was so secret that it might not be communicated on the wall of a royal tomb ⁷⁾. The religious doctrine is set forth, and the practical importance it may have is pointed out, without going into practical details. Both quotations contain theology, that is the more or less theoretical working out and assimilation of religious data ⁸⁾. The Egyptian literature of the dead is often called "magical", because it not only gives a theoretical exposition of the religious data, but also states what their practical use is, and that — sometimes how — they are to be practically applied. Much of what is called magic in Egyptological literature may be termed practical theology. It would be desirable to reserve the term 'magic' ⁹⁾ for those forces and operations which in our society are the subject of psychical research, and the term 'magician' for one who is supposed to be capable of performing miracles, or at least extraordinary feats, by means of occult or secret powers. We shall have to remember, though, that the supposed occult reality is not a constant in all cultures. Some forces and operations which our society explains by other sciences and does not refer to psychical research, were still regarded as magical by the Egyptians.

There are several words in the Egyptian language, including *3hw* and *hk3*, which are usually translated as 'magic'. The word *hk3* has been preserved in Coptic as *qur* and is found, *int.al.*, in the Coptic bible translation of Acts 8, where it is used of the sorceries of Simon Magus.

Before the creation or the originating of the natural order man lives, in and which he can to a certain extent comprehend, Egyptian theology tells us, the creator-god Atum created his eldest son Shu by means of his *3hw* ¹⁰⁾. In Egyptian theology, this prenatal or supernatural or occult power of the creator-god may be hypostatized as a special god, who is then instead of Shu, accounted the eldest son of Atum: the god Heka or Magician. The *3hw*, creative energy or magical strength of Atum, manifested once and for all at creation, seems to be connected with the word *i3hw*, "sunshine". One is sometimes in doubt whether to translate *3hw* as magic or as sunshine. It is interesting that

⁶⁾ O.c. II, p. 133.

⁷⁾ In *Book of the Dead* 110 *hk3* is called secret (*s3t3*).

⁸⁾ Th. P. VAN BAAREN, *Mensen tussen Nijl en Zon*, Zeist-Antwerpen 1963, p. 119. I willingly admit that in ancient Egypt there were no theologians "who searched for religious truth independently", cf. C. J. BLEEKER, *Egyptian Festivals*, Leiden 1967, p. 13.

⁹⁾ Th. P. VAN BAAREN, *Menschen wie Wir*, Gütersloh, 1964, p. 216.

¹⁰⁾ CT II, 39c.

the Egyptians also connected the notion of light with the concept *ḥkȝ*, as appears from a passage in the *Amduat*: "May your *ḥkȝw* shine." ¹¹⁾

The word *ḥkȝ* is often left untranslated when it refers to the god: "Heka"; or he is called: the god "Magic". In order to show the personification of the concept, some Egyptologists ¹²⁾ render it as "Magician". Besides magical power *ḥkȝ* sometimes also means magic spell and magical rite ¹³⁾. The god Heka is already mentioned in the Old Kingdom ¹⁴⁾. It cannot be conclusively argued that the figure of this god developed afterwards out of the concept "magic", "thanks to exaggerated verbal imagery" ¹⁵⁾. There are not enough data here to trace lines of historical development. We may note, though, that it is not unusual in Egypt for certain concepts: *mȝt*, *ḥw*, *siȝ* etc. to function also as gods. These concepts may be qualities of a god, as well as separate deities. On the other hand, gods who play an important part in the myths and even have a local cult, for instance Thoth ¹⁶⁾ and Seth ¹⁷⁾, sometimes hardly represent anything more than an aspect of the sun-god Re. In polytheistic religions, many gods sometimes prove to be manifestations, functions or aspects of a chief god ¹⁸⁾.

HORNUNG ¹⁹⁾ supposes that behind the Eldest Magician in the *Amduat* the god Seth is hidden, his name not being mentioned there because of his evil reputation. Seth is the murderer of Osiris and the molester of Horus. His arguments are, that it is Seth's traditional role to fight against Apopis, and that a passage of the so-called Sphinx stela ²⁰⁾ of Tuthmosis IV shows that Seth really is the Eldest Magician. There in a row of names, we find "Seth, the Eldest Magician". It is also possible, however, to read the passage as indicating two different gods, viz. Seth and the Eldest Magician. Seth does indeed combat Apopis, but several other gods may also exercise this function. According to sun hymns, the sun-god subdued chaos himself with his fire-breathing uraeus

¹¹⁾ E. HORNUNG, *Das Amduat*, I, p. 81 cf. II, p. 98. A. KLASSENS, *A magical Stutue Base (Socle Behugue) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, OMRO 33 (1952), p. 77, has in his discussion of the word *ḥkȝw* drawn attention to the fact that in *Urk* VI, 103, 5: "who averts the furious one with his magical power (*ḥkȝ.f*)" the parallel text has: *ḥkȝ*. So *ḥkȝ* and *ḥkȝw* are synonyms.

¹²⁾ K. SETHE, *Urgeschichte und Älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Leipzig 1930, p. 23, P. BARGUET, *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Égyptiens*, Paris 1967, p. 167; E. HORNUNG, *Das Amduat* II, p. 131.

¹³⁾ *WB* III, 175 ff.

¹⁴⁾ H. K. JACQUET-GORDON, *Les Noms des Domaines Funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien*, Le Caire 1962, pp. 99, 299, 413, 426, 427.

¹⁵⁾ A. H. GARDINER III: HASTINGS, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, IX, p. 789.

¹⁶⁾ P. BOYLAN, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, London 1922, p. 60.

¹⁷⁾ H. TE VELDE, *Seth, God of Confusion*, Leiden 1967, p. 105 ff.

¹⁸⁾ TH. P. VAN BAAREN, 'Pluriform Monotheism', *Ned. Theol. Tijdschr.* 20 (1965-1966), p. 321-328.

¹⁹⁾ E. HORNUNG, *Das Amduat*, II, p. 131.

²⁰⁾ *Urk*, IV 1542, 3.

snake, and the Egyptians could choose among many gods and goddesses to transfer this power into a special god whose post was on the prow of the ship ²¹). I hope one day to complete and publish a study on Apopis the monster of chaos, with particular reference to the fight against him from the solar barque.

Up to the present, only the role of Seth in the combat with Apopis has been fully and carefully examined ²²). This careful yet partial examination was not undertaken for the sake of studying the contest with Apopis, which has such an important place in Egyptian mythology and religion, but to try and solve the problem why the god Seth, to whom the Egyptians ascribed murder, theft and other objectionable matters, was yet venerated in temples specially dedicated to him. It need not be pointed out that this is not a satisfactory way of posing the problem, and the idea and cult of a god are made altogether too dependent on Christian norms. Not only sentiments of love and reverence (or schlechthinniges Abhängigkeitsgefühl, as the German nineteenth-century theologian SCHLEIERMACHER put it) but also many other incentives, such as a sense of fear, to go no further than emotions, may lead people to religion and to instituting a temple cult. Precisely the dangerous powers must also be conjured in rite and myth. Thus it was possible to represent Seth, the god of confusion, as fighting against Apopis just like other gods who guard the cosmic order.

In the *Nachträge* to his admirable commentary on the *Amduat*, HORNING has already drawn attention to a few Coffin texts in which the Eldest Magician or the Magician are mentioned. In translation, one of these texts reads:

Hu and Heka defeat the malignant snake for me ²³).

This shows that the Magician could be represented as combating Apopis, also according to another source than the *Amduat*. When Seth appears fighting against the enemy of Re, he specifies the violent aspect of Re. The Magician seems to specify not so much the violent aspect of Re as his creative, magical power, by means of which resistance is overcome. In the *Amduat* it is only in the critical seventh hour, and not in the other hours that we find the Magician an occupant of the solar barque. Elsewhere, however, for instance in the *Book of Gates*, he is also depicted among the crew at other times.

The Magician is also active, like e.g. the god Khnum, at the birth of a pharaoh. Whether one may deduce from this that ideally the Magician should play a part

²¹) Cf. H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, s.v. Shu, Onuris, Montu, Sopdu etc.; B. H. STRICKER, *De Grote Zeeslang*, Leiden 1953, p. 7.

²²) W. PLEYTE, *Set dans la barque solaire*, Leiden 1865, G. NAGEL, 'Set dans la barque solaire', BIFAO 28 (1929), p. 33-39; cf. H. TE VELDE, *Seth God of Confusion*, Leiden 1967, p. 99-108.

²³) CT VII, 466b.

at the birth of every human being, I should not venture to say. The story of the birth of the pharaoh, what DAUMAS²⁴⁾ called "le mystère de la naissance divine", is known to us in description and depiction from sources dating from the New Kingdom to Greek and Roman times. The god Amon begets the divine child upon the queen. The confinement then takes place. Afterwards the child and his *ka* are brought to the Magician, and the latter carries them to the ennead of the gods. Exactly what it is the Magician has to do is not explicitly stated. The words he speaks are fairly conventional. He gives his blessing. Summarising the interpretation of DAUMAS, one may say that the Magician bestows on the queen's new-born child magical protection, "vital potential"²⁵⁾.

One can moreover point out the special connection that proves to exist here between Heka and the *ka* of the royal infant. The mere words of *hk3* and *k3* suggest there may be some kind of connection²⁶⁾. After the New Kingdom the Magician himself can be represented as a divine child, as the child of Ptah or of Sobek and Sachmet²⁷⁾ or of Khnum and Neith in Esna²⁸⁾. We know that the Magician is himself one of the 14 *kas* of the King. In a *Coffin text* he is even called Lord of the *kas* (*nb k3w*)²⁹⁾. There he is also called *hwy k3w.f.*³⁰⁾ he who "strikes" the *kas* of the creator god Atum which were to become the protectors of his subjects. The verb *hwi* or *hii* not only means "to strike", but also to strike ceremonially, that is to say "to dedicate" or "to consecrate". Heka might thus have been conceived as the consecrator, the initiator or strengthener of the *ka*. Elsewhere too we find punning on the verb *hwi* in that special sense and the divine name Heka. In a prayer at the table of the pharaoh in Edfu we find the following entreaty:

*O Table-god (Atum) may he (Shu) give to thee all that he will have dedicated (hwi), now that he has become a god who is an emanation who is alert, worshipful and powerful. May he dedicate (hwi) to thee every good thing which thou wilt give him, for he hath become Heka*³¹⁾.

The name of Heka, the personification of the "vital potential" or creative

²⁴⁾ F. DAUMAS, *Les Mammisis des Temples Égyptiens*, Paris 1958; H. BRUNNER, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, Wiesbaden 1964 [PL. XNN, C].

²⁵⁾ F. DAUMAS, *o.c.*, p. 473 ff.

²⁶⁾ Cf. G. THAUSING, *WZKM* 39 (1932) p. 291 and W. WESTENDORF, *OLZ* 63 (1968), col. 137 note 2: "Die Funktion des *h*-Präfixes ist leider nicht eindeutig".

²⁷⁾ W. SPIEGELBERG, *ZÄS* 56 (1920), p. 57 f. and pl. V. ABU-EL-MOHSEN BAKIR, *ASAE* 43 (1943) p. 75-81 and pl. I. J. YOYOTTE, *Mélanges Maspero* I, 4e fasc., Le Caire 1961, p. 143 f., p. 146 and pl. I, 2. [PL. XXXI, B]. H. DE MEULENAERE, *BIFAO* 62 (1964) p. 170 f.

²⁸⁾ S. SAUNERON, *Les Fêtes Religieuses d'Esna (Esna V)*, Le Caire 1962 and his other forthcoming publications on the temple of Esna.

²⁹⁾ *CT* III, 388b.

³⁰⁾ *CT* III, 385c.

³¹⁾ A. M. BLACKMAN, 'The king of Egypt's Grace before Meat', *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 59.

energy, thus seems to have been explained by the Egyptians as the *hll* of the *k3*: he who dedicates or initiates the *ka* to life upon earth. It seems to me best to assume here that it is not a real etymology, but a pseudo-etymology. For the understanding of Egyptian religious conceptions, however, pseudo-etymologies may be as important as real ones.

The epithet "eldest", given to the Magician in the Amduat and elsewhere ³²), is a reference to the creation. On the Sphinx stela of Tuthmosis IV the epithet is explained with the words "concerning the holy place of the first time (creation)" ³³). A further explanation of this whole expression is found in the well-known *Coffin-texts* spell 261 ³⁴), the greater part of which follows here in translation. The dead man identifies himself with the Magician, and speaks as by His mouth:

*I am he, whom the One Lord formed before duality had originated upon this earth, when he was about to send forth his single eye ³⁵), when he was alone, when there was going to come forth from his mouth, when his millions of kas were about to become the protection of his subjects, when he was about to speak with who originated together with him and who became stronger than he, when he was about to put Hu (the creative word) into his mouth. I am truly the son of him who has brought forth the universe, who was born before his mother was there. I am for the protection of that which the One Lord has commanded (variant: I am for the strengthening of the One Lord; I am the strengthener of his kas, *hwy k3w.f*). I am he who caused the ennead to live. . . who equipped a god according to the command of him who has brought forth the universe (variant: the eldest god). I take my place, o bulls of heaven, in this my great dignity of lord of the kas (*nb k3w*), heir of Re-Atum. . . To me belonged the universe before you gods had come into being. Descend, you who have come in the end ³⁶).*

According to a variant mentioned above, Atum, who has brought forth the universe, is the eldest god. Heka is clearly the first god whom Atum made. The name Heka was later explained in Esna as "the first work" ³⁷), of the

³²) CT VII, 457 j.; A. PIANKOFF, *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, Le Caire 1942, p. 21 f.; *Urk* IV 1542, 3.

³³) *Urk* IV, 1542, 3; cf. H. KEES, 'Hike der Älteste des heiligen Platzes des Urbeginns', ZÄS 65 (1930), p. 83-85.

³⁴) CT III, 382-389.

³⁵) The actions referred to by the construction *m* + infinitive may lie in the future cf. A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar* ², par. 331.

³⁶) Or: to you descends he who has come at the end (*phwy*). Heka has then appeared at the end, i.e. in the very first beginning. The hieroglyph *ph* (F 22) is his characteristic symbol, which he wears on his head [Pl. XXVI, A].

³⁷) S. SAUNERON, *Les Fêtes Religieuses d'Esna*, Le Caire 1962, p. 212: "Je suis le fils aîné, le premier (né) de Khnoum: Je suis Héga ("le premier ouvrage") sorti sur son tour".

creator-god. Heka, however, himself takes part in the work of creation. He caused the ennead of the gods to live. BONNET remarks of the text quoted here: "Damit ist nicht an der Einheit des Schöpfungswerkes gerührt. Denn im letzten ist der Gott Hike nicht mehr als eine Emanation des Atum, in der sich der für sein Schaffen konstitutive Teil seines Wesens, seine Hike-kraft darstellt" ³⁸⁾. That is to say, the Magician is the creative energy of Atum and therefore equally old, although he is also his son and thus seems to be younger than Atum. In his fine study of Egyptian theology with reference to the god Shu, where we meet the same problem, DE BUCK ³⁹⁾ has pointed out analogous problems in early Christian theology, when the doctrine of Arius, that the Son had a beginning and was therefore a younger and lesser god than the Father, was rejected and it was maintained by Athanasius that the logos was with the Father in all eternity. Heka's epithet "eldest" will not imply that he is older than Atum, but that he is equally old, or to use the words of the Nicene Creed, that he is consubstantial ὁμοουσιος with the father.

The following document is a so-called spell. It is doubtful whether it still has anything to do with magic in a stricter sense. It is a pronouncement in which theology is applied as a reassurance. Many phenomena in various cultures which are habitually called magic, are rites of reassurance or preparation ⁴⁰⁾. The sociological place of so-called magicians in Egyptian society is not easy to determine, for the material does not permit of far-reaching conclusions ⁴¹⁾. There were snake-charmers and similar people who, for instance, accompanied expeditions to the Sinai. There were magicians (*hkw*), who sometimes bore the more high-sounding title: priest of the god Heka. These were to be found among the physicians. Then there were the lector-priests ⁴²⁾ (*hryw-hb.t*), who as literati full of book-learning had the reputation of miracle-workers. These lector-priests, who as theologians worked with religious data and used them in their writings, will also have arranged so-called spells. In the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* we read:

³⁸⁾ H. BONNET, *Reallexikon*, p. 301.

³⁹⁾ A. DE BUCK, *Plaats en Betekenis van Sjoë in de Egyptische Theologie*, Med. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wetensch. Afd. Letterkunde, NR. Dl. 10, no. 9, Amsterdam 1947.

⁴⁰⁾ TH. P. VAN BAAREN, *Geruststellingsriten. Een Bijdrage tot de Critiek op de Gangbare Opvattingen over Magie*, Groningen 1952.

⁴¹⁾ A. H. GARDINER, 'Professional Magicians in Ancient Egypt', *PSBA* 39 (1917), p. 31-44; W. R. DAWSON, 'The Magicians of Pharaoh', *Folklore* 47 (1936) p. 234-263; S. SAUNERON, 'Le Monde du Magicien Égyptien', in: *Le Monde du Sorcier*, Sources Orientales VII, Paris 1966, p. 27-65.

⁴²⁾ J. VERGOTE, *Joseph en Égypte*, Leuven 1959, p. 74 ff.; S. SAUNERON, *Les Prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1957, p. 62: "ils représentaient pour le peuple égyptien le type même du magicien populaire, héros des romans et des fables, qu'on se répétait le soir à la veillée."

*You must say, when you go out at night and darkness is over you:
You are conquered, enemy of Re. I am his ba, the Magician* ⁴³).

In a no less theological document, the *Berlin hymn to Ptah*, the *ba* of the creator-god Ptah is also called the Magician:

*Everyone trembles when his ba comes into being:
The Magician who has power over the gods* ⁴⁴).

The Magician is one of the seven *bas* of Re ⁴⁵). It is well-known that the Magician is one of the fourteen *kas* of Re. A *ba* of Re is an external manifestation of him, a *ka* refers to his essence ^{45a}). Translated into terms of European philosophy or theology, Re is "Magician" in *essentia* and in *existentia*, or in essence and manifestation.

The Magician is not only *ka* and *ba* of Re, he is also name of Re according to Egyptian theology. In the *Book of Overthrowing Apopis* Re says, when he is busy with the work of creation: "My name is Magician" ⁴⁶). In a well-known Egyptian story Isis, who often appears as magician, does everything she can to find out the real name of Re, but Re keeps his name a secret, "lest a magical power be given to a magician against me" ⁴⁷). In the end the secret name is after all communicated to Isis. Now it would be too far-fetched to suppose that this secret name actually was "Magician", so that his divine power is not more than that of a magician. Yet it is obviously a theological pronouncement of far-reaching importance, when a text tells us that a name of Re is "Magician", for the name no less than the *ka* refers to the essence of a person.

This Egyptian doctrine, hypostatizing the creative energy of the creator-god as the earliest created god, seems to be in contradiction with the received view that the first to originate from Atum were Shu and Tefnet, and that Shu is the earliest created god. There was a way out, however. Shu was indeed called "he whom Atum made as eldest" ⁴⁸), but with the addition "by means of his magic power" (*3hw. f*). The Magician is precisely the personification of this magic power of the creator-god, and could therefore be acknowledged as the eldest. Naturally the theologians trying to set forth the importance of Shu are loth to do that. One writer of a *Coffin text* even polemises; he lets Shu say:

⁴³) CH. MAYSTRE, *Le Livre de la Vache du Ciel*, BIFAO 40 (1941), p. 104.

⁴⁴) W. WOLF, ZÄS 64 (1928), p. 64.

⁴⁵) A. SHORTER, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1938, p. 69.

^{45a}) A. H. GARDINER, 'Some Personifications. Hike', the God of Magic, PSBA 37 (1915), p. 258 f.; 39 (1917) p. 135.




⁴⁶) *Pap. Bremner-Rhind* 28, 22.

⁴⁷) A. PIANKOFF, *The litany of Re*, New York 1964, p. 57.

⁴⁸) CT II, 39c.

I do not obey the Magician, for I came into being before him ⁴⁹).

There is a familiar cosmogonic representation of Shu lifting up the sky goddess Nut with his hands, and so creating space. Now and then, however, artists have drawn the logical conclusion from the doctrine that the Magician is the eldest son of the creator, and shown him instead of Shu raising up the goddess Nut ⁵⁰). Sometimes Shu is depicted lifting up Nut, yet the Magician has been given a place quite close to him ⁵¹). Heka is then shown kneeling beside, with his arms in an attitude of prayer. He is praying, making magic, creating the world. In any case, he is participating in the process of creation. Religious history formerly sought to maintain a distinction between man who prays and man who compels by magic, and in this connection it is of importance to note that the Magician doing his work there has the appearance of a man in prayer.

The interpretation given so far that the Magician personifies the creative energy of the creator-god, seems to be confirmed by the writing of his name, which has not so far been quite satisfactorily explained. After the New Kingdom, the writing  and related variants is often replaced by  or , which represents the hinder part of a lion. We can hardly be content with the explanation ⁵²) that one day a direction in a sketch for artists, that Heka was to be drawn in the latter end (*ph*) of the solar barque, was misunderstood as a special way of writing the name Heka, and was then slavishly copied by others. Writing Heka's name with the hinder part of the lion has also been called enigmatic writing, without further explanation ⁵³).

The following explanation is proposed here: the hinder part of the lion is not an attribute, although there seem to have been speculations concerning Heka as the end that is the beginning, i.e. the eldest son or the first work of the creator ⁵⁴). The hinder part of the lion should be read as a hieroglyph with the value *ph*. Sometimes *t* and *y* are added ⁵⁵), so that one can read the word *phity*.

⁴⁹) CT I, 372b, c.

⁵⁰) R. T. RUNDLE CLARK, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London 1959, pl. 18 [XXIX, c]; R. V. LANZONE, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, Turin 1881-1885, p. CLVIII.

⁵¹) E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, London 1912, pl. CVII [PL. XXIX, A]; A. BADAWY, 'Das Grab des Kronprinzen Shosenk', ASAE 54 (1956), p. 170, pl. XI.

⁵²) W. R. DAWSON, 'The Writing of the Name Heka', JEA 31 (1947), p. 105, cf. JEA 24 (1938), p. 128.

⁵³) R. T. RUNDLE CLARK, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London 1959, p. 254.

⁵⁴) Cf. Note 36. The remarkable representation [PL. XXVIII, B] mentioned by DAWSON (o.c.), showing two gods (int. al.) in the solar barque with respectively the sign for the hindpart and the forepart of a lion on their heads, might be interpreted as an indication that Heka is both the end (*ph*) and the beginning (*h3t*), and that both gods are forms of Heka.

⁵⁵) E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, London 1912, pls. CVII, CVIII [PLS. XXIX, A; XXVIII, A]; ZÄS 66 (1931), p. 20.

This word means "physical strength", "sexual power", but also "creative power" ⁵⁶⁾. If this view is correct, the Egyptian writers would be consciously confirming that the Magician is the personification of the creative energy of the creator-god. It would agree with this view, that in late texts the hinder part of a lion can serve to indicate a god (*ntr*) in general ⁵⁷⁾. The idea on which this custom was based, will have been that a god is a creative energy.

The quotation given in the beginning from the seventh hour of the Amduat, is a text accompanying a picture of the solar barque containing the sun-god and eight other gods ⁵⁸⁾. Isis stands upon the prow, and immediately behind her stand Sia, the personification of divine Wisdom, and Heka. The god Hu, the personification of the divine Word, is also one of the occupants, who each represent aspects of the sun-god ⁵⁹⁾. Sia and Hu ⁶⁰⁾ often form part of the crew. They could be imagined as taking part in the act of creation: God creates and maintains the creation by his wisdom and his word. The wisdom that is in his heart, is realised by the word that is in his mouth. Sia and Hu form a pair that belongs together. We have seen above, however, that we may also find both Sia and Heka and Hu and Heka together, so that Heka seems to be able to substitute for one of the members of this pair. If I am right, however, Heka is not identical with Hu, as has been suggested ⁶¹⁾. Heka, Hu and Sia may be named ⁶²⁾ and represented ⁶³⁾ all three together. This in itself would lead us to suppose that the Egyptians could differentiate between Heka and Hu. GARDINER ⁶⁴⁾ already remarked that Heka was regarded "almost as an equivalent of Hu", but that to the "power of speech" (*hw*) and the "power of knowledge" (*si3*) he added the "notion of mysterious efficacy". Heka is not the word of creation itself, but the mysterious energy which is also expressed in the word of creation, and as such can sometimes replace Hu. The notion of creative energy could be connected with the notion of creative wisdom or creative word, but it could also be connected with the notion of creative order (*m3'4*). It is noticeable that one not only sees Hu and or Sia near to Heka, but sometimes

⁵⁶⁾ W/B I 539, 11.

⁵⁷⁾ H. JUNKER, *Über das Schriftsystem im Tempel des Hathor in Dendera*, Berlin 1903, p. 7 f.

⁵⁸⁾ P. BUCHER, *Les Textes des Tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, Le Caire 1932, pls. V, XXXIV [PL. XXVII, B].

⁵⁹⁾ A. PIANKOFF, 'Une statuette du Dieu Heka', *Mélanges Maspero* I, fasc. 1, Le Caire 1934, p. 351.

⁶⁰⁾ H. BONNET, *Reallexikon*, p. 318 ff. J. ZANDEE, 'Das Schöpferwort im alten Ägypten'. In: *Verbum . . . dedicated to H. W. Obbink*, Utrecht 1964, p. 46 ff.

⁶¹⁾ J. ZANDEE, *o.c.*, p. 48, p. 50 etc.

⁶²⁾ M. PIEPER, 'Ein Text über das ägyptische Brettspiel', *ZÄS* 66 (1931), p. 20.

⁶³⁾ *Papyrus of Khonsurenept: Mythological Papyri* by A. PIANKOFF and N. RAMBOVA New York 1957, pl. 11 (scene 4) [PL. XXX, B].

⁶⁴⁾ A. H. GARDINER, *PSBA* 38 (1916), p. 52 f.

also a goddess. This is sometimes the divine magician Isis, as in the *Amduat* but elsewhere it is the goddess Maat⁶⁵), the personification of creative order. As wisdom must be pronounced, so energy must be ordered. The Egyptians were aware that unordered creative energy was also at work. Sometimes we read of evil *hkk*⁶⁶) or the need of protecting oneself against the *hkk* of others⁶⁷). In itself, *hkk* is one of those "Begriffe . . . die ihrerseits die Norm der Ordnung durchbrechen konnten"⁶⁸). Hence the inclination to put Heka together with Maat, for it was not doing heka (*iri hkk*) in itself, but doing maat (*iri m3'i*) that was the Egyptian ideal in life, even for the plastic artist: "There is no artist who has command of his creativity (*3hw.f*)"⁶⁹). The sculptor Irtisen, however, seems to be an exception to the rule. Part of the inscription on his stela reads:

*Every hkk, I had command of it. In that I was not surpassed.
I was indeed an artist who excelled in artistic ability*⁷⁰).

In the rest of the inscription there follows a detailed survey of his extraordinary abilities as a plastic artist. *hkk* is usually translated here as magic, and this passage has been used to argue that magic was legitimate in Egypt⁷¹). No doubt it was, but one can conclude from the context that the matter referred to here is the mysterious efficacy of an artist: his creativity. There is no reason to suppose that doing heka was forbidden, but it was not usually within the reach of human possibilities. Beings who had a special position compared with ordinary people on earth, not only an exceptional artist, but also the pharaoh and the glorified dead and the gods, these were said to have command of heka⁷²). An ordinary person would certainly like to make magic or to be creative, but he is only rarely able to. Therefore, in the Egyptian wisdom literature stress is laid not on doing heka, but on doing maat, just as in the Egyptian cult, parallel with Egyptian ethics, the central offering was of maat. MORENZ has pertinently advised us to consider "ob Rituale das Ordentliche in Betrieb halten, Zauber

⁶⁵) *Pap. of Khonsumes (Mythological Papyri, pl. 16) [PL. XXXII]; Pap. Greenfield pl. 108: [PL. XXVIII, A]. In the same representation of the Pap. of Khonsurenef (Mythological Papyri, pl. 11) [PL. XXIX, B] Maat is replaced by Isis and Nephthys; Inner Coffin of Paseba-Kha'enopet, Brooklyn Museum acc. no. 08.480.2 [PL. XXVII, A]. P. MONTET, *Les Constructions et le Tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis*, Paris 1947, pl. 41. Cf. PL. XXX, A.*

⁶⁶) A. H. GARDINER, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Third Series, London 1935, Textvolume, p. 69.

⁶⁷) PH. DERCHAIN, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, Bruxelles 1963, p. 139 (V. 10); I. E. S. EDWARDS, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fourth Series, London 1960, Textvolume, Index s.v. *hkk*.

⁶⁸) S. MORENZ, *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten*, Leipzig 1964, p. 144.

⁶⁹) *Ptahhotep* 56: Z. ŽABA, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, Prague 1956, p. 7.

⁷⁰) A. BADAWY, 'The Stela of Irtisen', *CdE* 36 no. 72 (1961), p. 270.

⁷¹) S. MORENZ, *o.c.*, p. 148.

⁷²) *Urk IV* 244, 8; *Pyr.* 397; 250; 924; 1318; 1472.

aber für oder gegen das Ausserordentliche eingesetzt werden" ⁷³⁾. In a text that is often quoted ⁷⁴⁾ it is indeed stated that God has made heka for man as a weapon suitable to turn the course of events. Yet this divine gift remains an extraordinary means, like the dream which is spoken of in the same context. It is also said there that God created rulers (*ḥkꜣw*) for men. The dream, kingship, and magic are divine gifts to man, but that need not imply that everyone is to become a dream medium, a ruler or a magician.

The god Heka, who represents magic power, divine creative energy, human creativity, vital potential, mysterious efficiency, seems to be a very exceptional god. It is of importance to make a closer examination of the data referring to this god, in order to see what exactly is the specific magical component of what is called Egyptian magic. LÉVI STRAUSS ⁷⁵⁾ has remarked that the term of totemism and likewise the concept of myth are categories of our thinking, artificial units, which only exist as such in the minds of scholars engaged in research, while nothing specific in the outside world corresponds to them any more. It seems not impossible to me that he might also call the concept of magic such an "unité artificielle", which is continually given a different content.

The god Heka, who is himself supposed to be present in effective spells ⁷⁶⁾ and who symbolises the miracle, was integrated in the religious order as one among the many gods. Thus the extraordinary became ordinary: as ordinary as a god can be. In the temple of Esna he was venerated as the divine child in a triad of gods (PL. XXXI, A).

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⁷³⁾ S. MORENZ, *o.c.*, p. 153.

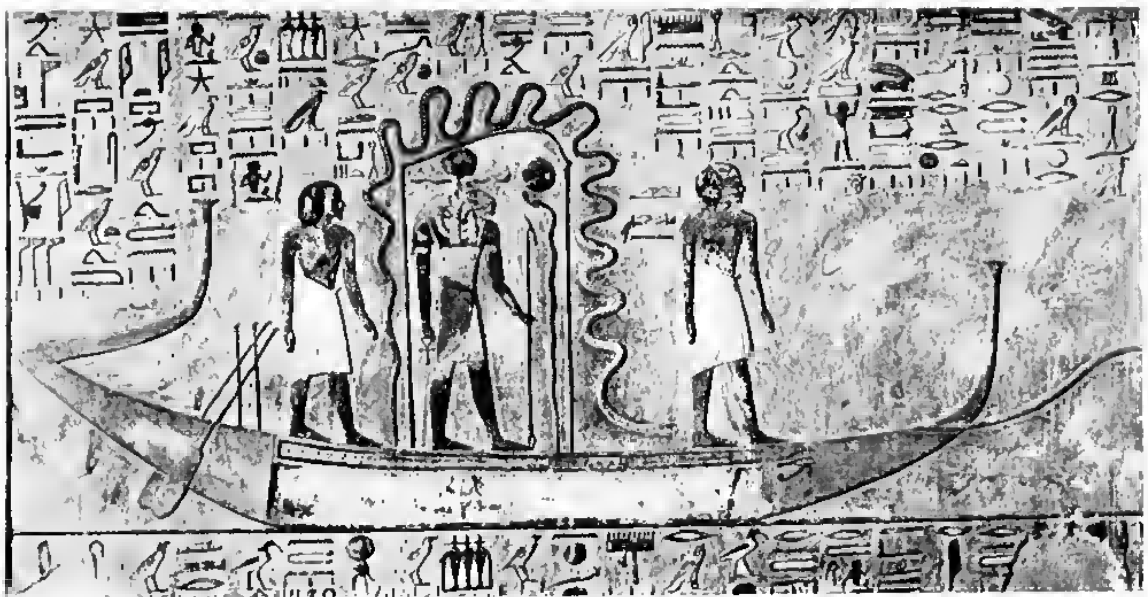
⁷⁴⁾ *Instructions for Merikare*: A. VOLTRIN, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*, Copenhagen 1945, p. 76.

⁷⁵⁾ C. LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Le Totémisme Aujourd'hui*, Paris 1962, p. 14.

⁷⁶⁾ C. MAYSTRE, *Le Livre de la Vache du Ciel*, BIFAO 40 (1941), p. 90 f.



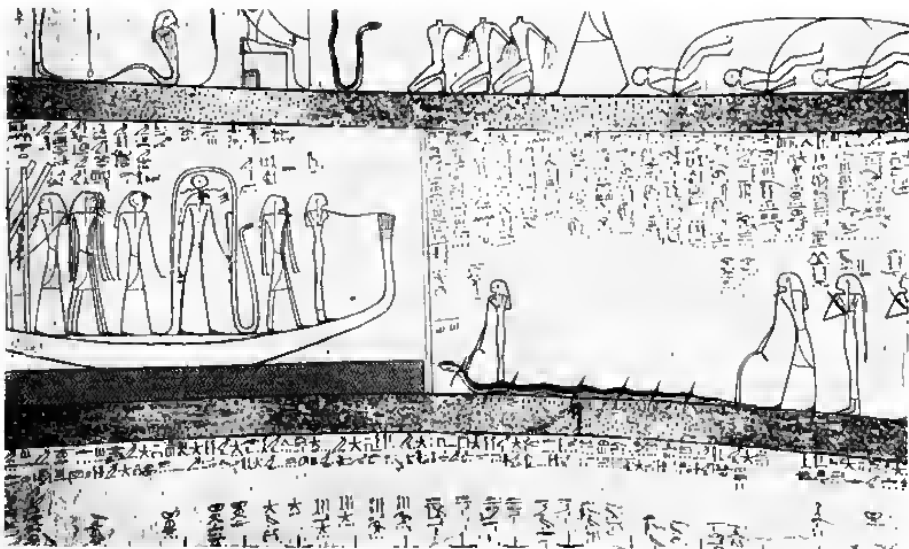
- A. Heka, Louvre E 4875, enameled earthenware H. 8 cm. (A. PIANKOFF, 'Une statuette du dieu Heka', *Mél. Maspero* 1, 1^{er} fasc., Cairo 1934, Pl. B).
- B. Heka, as is shown by inscription. Metrop. Mus. of Art 4897. Bronze H. 23 cm. (G. RÖRDER, *Zauberei und Jenseitsglauben*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1961, Pl. II A).
- C. Heka in upper row, left of magical stela Leiden A 1053 (B. H. STRICKER, *Magische Steles*, OMRO 22 (1941), Pl. III, 2).



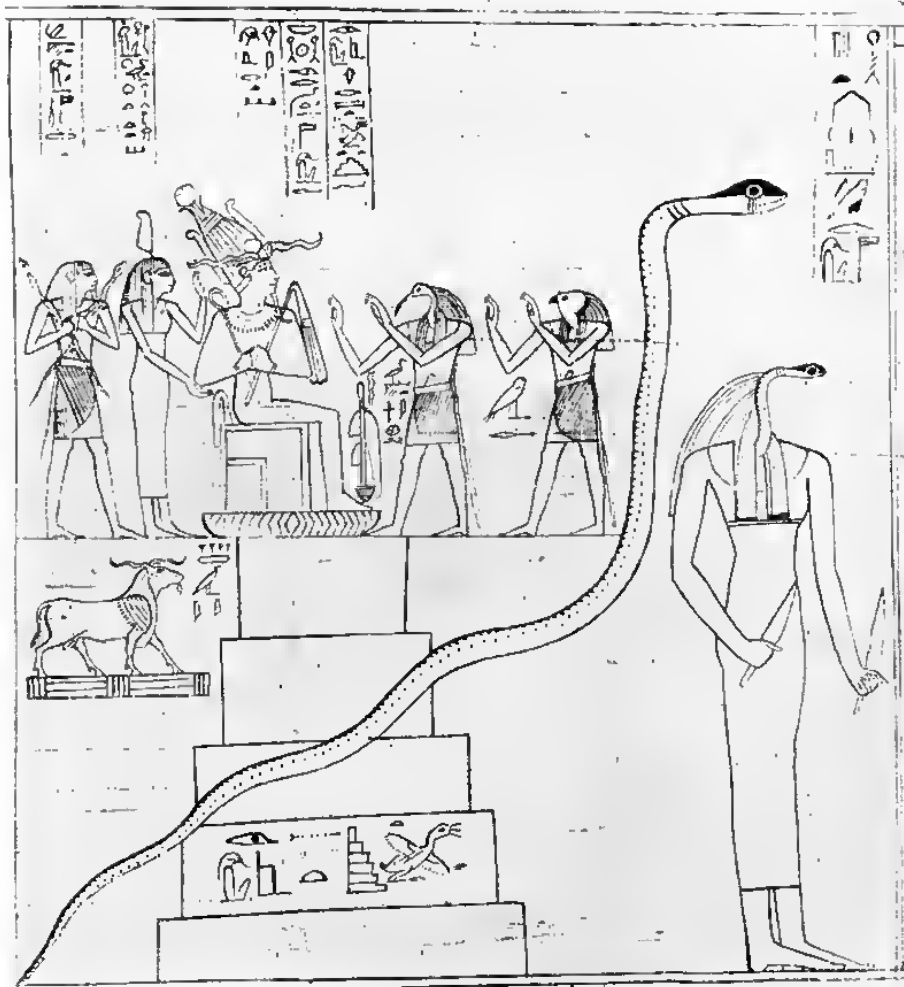
- D. Heka with *int. al. Sin* in *Book of Gates* (E. OTTO-M. HIRMER, *Osiris und Amun*, München 1966, Pl. 41 A).



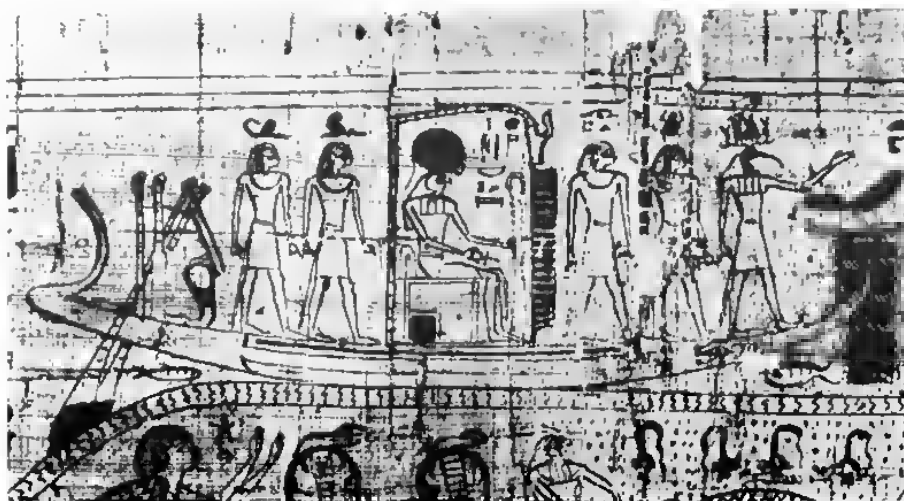
A. Heka with *int. al.* Maat (Photograph of detail of Innercoffin of *P3-sb3-h'-n-ipt* by the courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum).



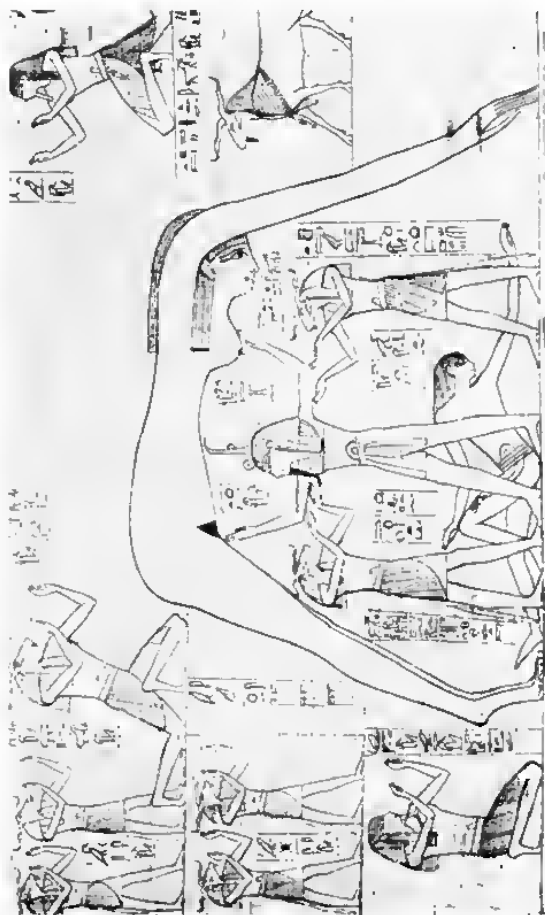
B. Heka with *int. al.* Isis in *Amduat* (P. BUCHER, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Amenophis II*, Cairo 1932, Pl. V).



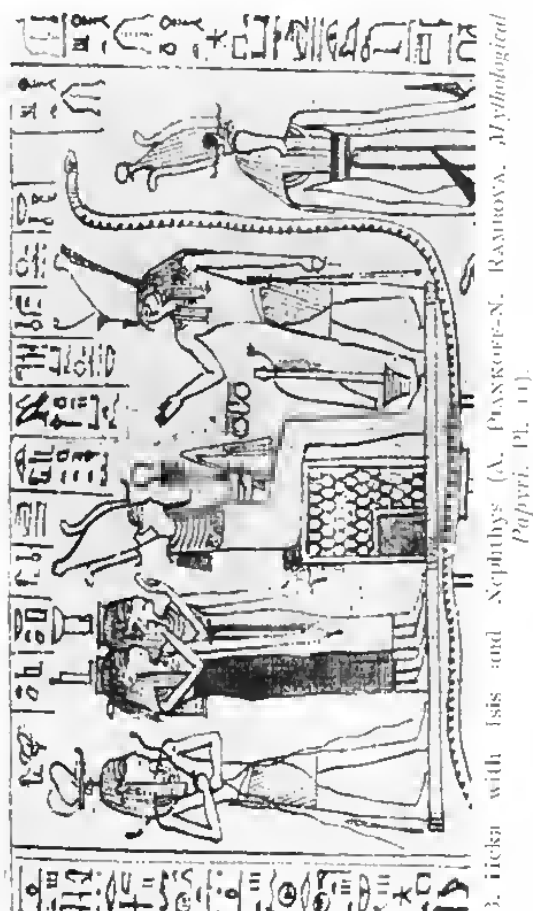
A. Heka with *int. al. Mhar* (E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, London 1912, Pl. 108).



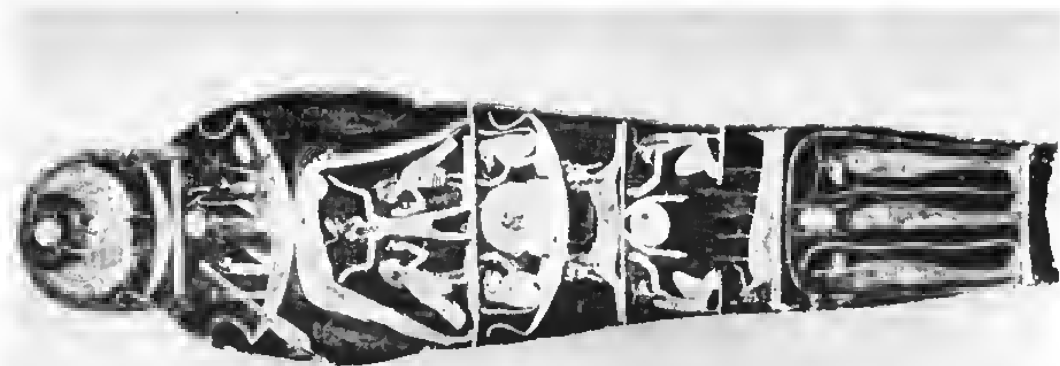
B. Heka with his double in the rear of the sun-boat (A. PIANKOFF-N. RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri*, Pl. 21).



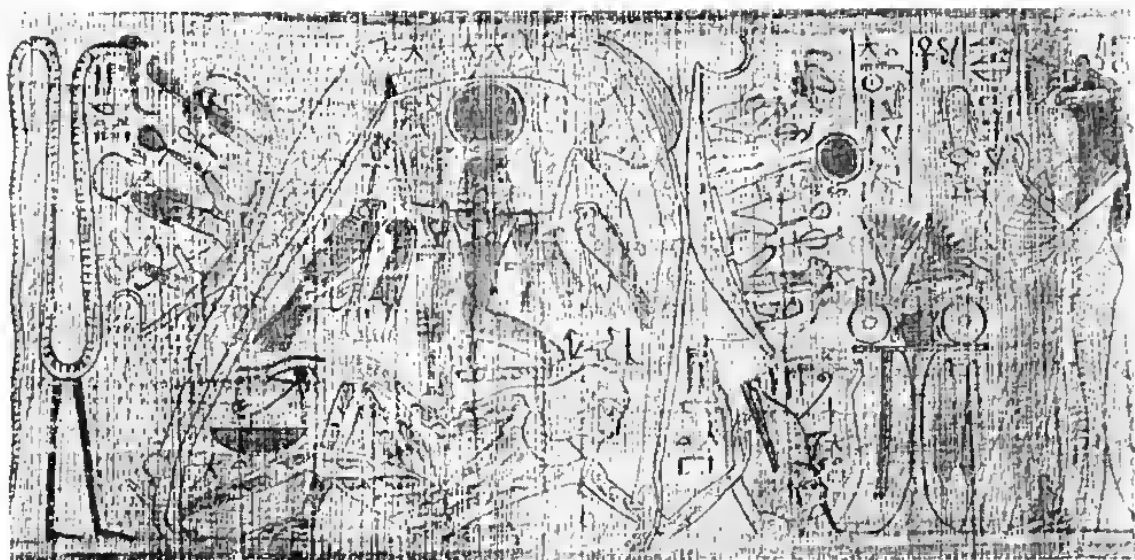
A. Heke looking at the work of Sint, Greenfield papyrus (C. POSENER ET AL. *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*, Paris 1959, p. 68).



B. Heke with Isis and Nephthys (A. PANKOFF-N. RASPOVA, *Mythological Papyri*, Pl. 11).



C. Heke in stud of Shu lifting Nut (R. T. KUTLER CLARK, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, London 1959, Pl. 18).



A. Heka with Maat (A. PIANKOFF, 'Une statuette du dieu Heka', *Mél. Maspero I*, 1^{er} fasc. Cairo 1934, Pl. C).



B. Heka with Hu and Sia (A. PIANKOFF-X. RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri*, Pl. 11).



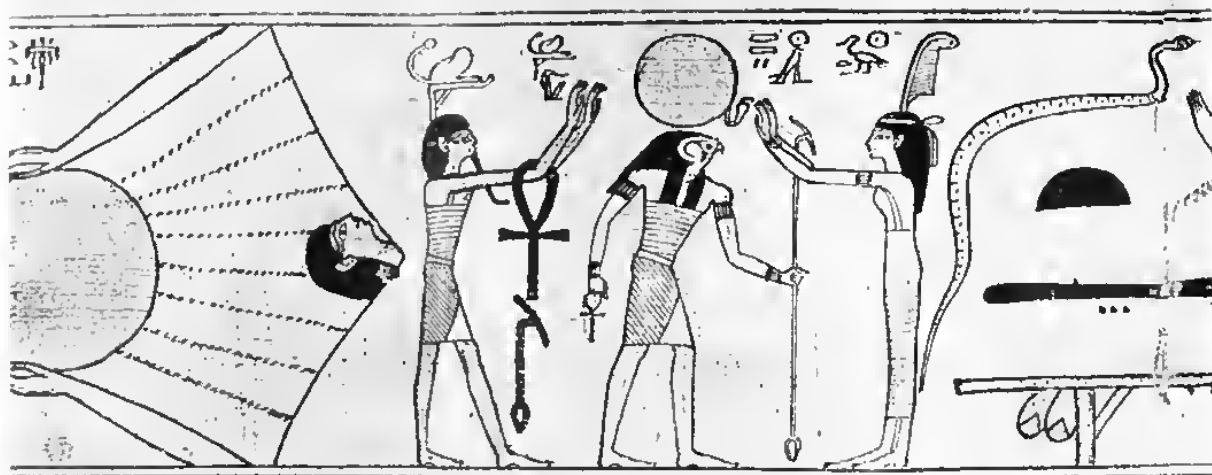
C. Heka and Hapy bringing the royal child and his ka to the Ennead (H. BRUNNER, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, Wiesbaden 1964, Pl. 13).



A. Heka the child with Sakhnnet (J. VOYOTTE, 'Les principales du delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne', *Mél. Muséol.* I, 4e fasc., Cairo 1961 Pl. I, 2).



B. Heka the child at Esna (Photograph by the courtesy of Dr. S. SAUGNERON).



Heka with *int. al.* Maat (A. PIANKOFF-N. RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri*, New York 1957, Pl. 16).